

THE ANSWER to **Anti - Semitism**



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THE ANSWER TO ANTI-SEMITISM

I AM AN AMERICAN!

Has there ever been a phrase more appealing than "I am an American?"

For no matter where you might locate—in far-off Africa, in Poland, in Danzig—there was the nostalgia for the good old U. S. A. Always,—after the glamor of new faces and new thrills wore off,—there was the longing for the oak trees, the willows,—the lilacs and the astors—the give and take of democratic America!

AMERICAN JEWS

The plight of the Jews throughout the world is known to all of us. Driven down to the sea by the Hitlers and the Mussolinis—stripped of their possessions, their right to labor and earn, their right to provide for their families, and to worship in peace and sanctity—what is there left for them but despair! No wonder Mr. Deatherage of the Knights of the White Camelias smacks his lips with gusto in anticipation of the coming "wave of suicides" in the United States. He has not forgotten that in Vienna, at the time of Hitler's acquisition, there were some 200 suicides among the Jewish population within two days! Yes—there is a precedent for his prophecy.

ENGLAND AND THE JEWS

It was in England, if you will recall, that 'Moral Rearmament' made its debut. At last humanity and justice would be driven home to its people—would be extended to the world at large. Gone were such realistic problems as Arabs, and totalitarian propaganda among the Moslems. Now—at long last—the golden rule would come into its own among all peoples.

THE WHITE PAPER

The declaration by England that she would repudiate her treaty with the United States covering the mandate of Palestine—after American Jews had contributed some \$100,000,000 to the growth of their National Homeland—fell like a bombshell upon the American Jewish community of the United States. Conditions in America, now grave, were aggravated by the problem of European Jewry, who, in their utter despair, could look only to American sources for aid, comfort, and sheer existence. Palestine, after 10 years would be an Arab controlled State.

BUND P2 BAC

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THE GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND

To all intents and purposes the Bund is conceived and organized in exact replica of its German origin. The Ordnungs Dienst, the O.D., the Deutscher Konsum Verband (German Consumers' Association), the organized boycotts against political opponents, the letter-writing campaigns, the whispering campaigns, the scurrilous and libelous attacks against all Americans of Jewish blood are having their effect. Who can say truthfully how many converts to their cause have been gathered throughout the nation? We do know that at the recent Madison Square Garden outrage, in February, there were more than 20,000 supporters, cheering and applauding the vicious attacks upon the Jews. With their dozen or so camps throughout the states of the Union it is reasonably certain that their membership is growing—and growing with rapidity.

GERMAN PROPAGANDA

In "Unser Amerika" by S. K. Padover, we have the following statement. "The Nazis' technique—successful in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia—is to stir up dissatisfaction and internal dissension, then to step in and, through the German minority they control, to dominate the chaos they have created." Since 1933 the Nazis have distributed many thousands of booklets, mailed to American rural workers, laborers, and the lower middle-class, to the effect that the country is Jew-dominated. Every ill, no matter what the cause, is traced to the Jews. "They are spreading canards that the Jews control America's money, own the American press and dominate the government. 'Aryan' Americans are urged to revolt against this Jewish tyranny."

FATHER COUGHLIN

One of the saddest pages of history is the malediction of Father Coughlin upon our Jewish people. These pages have not yet been completed. Although scholarly tracts have been published by outstanding organizations authoritatively refuting the false and misleading statements broadcast by Father Coughlin, the damage has been done! Years and years of educational work must be carried out in order to inject even an entering wedge of doubt among his millions of followers—be they 5 million or 10 million, it is difficult to estimate. The WMCA boycott is carried out faithfully each Sunday. Monday's papers inevitably tell of brushes and bruises between rival magazine salesmen and pickets.

THE NATIVIST ORGANIZATIONS

The so-called American Front organizations, some 800 in number, dedicated to anti-Semitic preaching and practice, are now taking prominence through the Deatherage and General Moseley

expose. Senator Dies, and his Committee, are taking evidence in Washington, D.C., and although the testimony is confused—as indeed it must be—there is every evidence of a conspiracy, international in scope, and more fantastic than ever contained in the wildest dream. The names mentioned are national figures. Regardless of the degree of the flirtation—and it is evident that these individuals have more than just held the lady's hand—the future for the Jew in the United States is less than cheerful in outlook.

SCAPEGOAT

The Jew is the scapegoat. Dr. Robert K. Speer, Professor of Education, New York University, in a statement to the writer says: "I am in hearty accord with the purposes of your organization. My own opinion, however, is that the anti-Semitic movement in the United States is not against the Jew as such. Its purpose is to use the Jew as the scapegoat in all anti-democratic endeavors."

Alfred Kreymborg, in a similar statement advises: "I have been all for the Jews in any of their causes, the more so as most of their causes reflect the whole of humanity. Your movement has my whole-hearted support at all times."

And Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Minister, The Riverside Church, New York City writes to me: "Any serious religious view of life must start from the proposition that every human personality has sacredness in its own right. This proposition breaks down any barrier of group-prejudice and refuses to hold up any nation or race as a whole to contempt and scorn"

DEMOCRACY

There is a solution for anti-Semitism and that solution is Americanism. We American Jews have always given our allegiance, unqualified and unhyphenated, to the land of our birth, and we must work together so that the principles of democracy are not cast in the shade by any 'isms'—any divided allegiance—any false Utopias which have for their premises the subordination of the primary Bill of Rights.

The time has come for all to adhere to the doctrines of democracy—to insist that all others—regardless of race, creed and color—who profess America as their land of adoption do likewise.

By unity in defense of our country against all subversive elements—whatever their nature,—we can and shall maintain the doctrines of democracy. Moral rearmament of all, through personal and spiritual example, is the answer to anti-Semitism. We cannot and will not tolerate intolerance!

SOLUTION

Anti-Semitism, when it rears its ugly head, must be made to retreat at once. A policy of hush-hush solves nothing, defers to a later day,—and perhaps a more serious event,—the meeting of the enemy. The best defense is intelligence plus a stout heart. Anti-Semitism is at best a cowardly affair and courage is its only antidote.

Courage in moral rearmament will solve the problem of anti-Semitism. **DEUS MISREATUR.**

The Truth About Anti-Semitism

*From a New York address by D. SELIG MARGOLIES, Executive Director
AMERICAN LEAGUE TO COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM, INC.
1776 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N. Y.*

Friends:—

There is not sufficient time to go into the details of our program—sufficient is it to say that our specifications for the salvation of our Jewish people have all been weighed with the utmost care to see that only good to all—and harm to none—is accomplished.

For months mind you we had been meeting with lack of full cooperation from individuals who, in their honest differences, would not see eye to eye with us. It was a matter of tactics, of philosophy.

Have we been right?

The General Moseley Expose

The Dies Committee investigation into Un-American Activities is now making front-page headlines throughout the country. Some of the characters in this sensational drama are James F. Cooke of Athens, Tennessee, State Commander of the American Legion in Tennessee; George Deatherage of St. Albans, W. Va., chief of the Knights of the White Camellias; Felix McWhirter, Indianapolis banker and Naval Reserve Officer and Dudley P. Gilbert, millionaire of New York.

General Moseley is alleged to be the leader of an anti-Semitic group. Correspondence introduced speaks with approval of growing anti-Semitism in the United States, and of “the biggest liquidation of all mongrels they have ever known”.

"Patriotic" U. S. Group Sought Foreign Guidance

And we have been right!

“Although puerile and confused in its conception, an anti-Semitic movement revealed by Chairman Dies of the House Commit-

tee on Un-American Activities took on a more serious aspect this week when George Edward Deatherage, of St. Albans, W. Va., national commander of the Knights of the White Camellia, admitted on the witness stand that he had sought guidance from an international organization in Rome and from Nazi diplomats in this country. He also acknowledged that he had corresponded with Fritz Kuhn, "fuehrer" of the German-American Bund.

Mr. Deatherage declared that he and other individuals named by Mr. Dies were fighting a common cause—"this world-wide drive and especially in the United States—of Jewish communism." The Italian organization, he said, maintained liason with a number of American groups and was designed to parallel and checkmate the Communist International. He related how he had sought to establish contact with the German Embassy in Washington and the Nazi Consul General in San Francisco, but had been met with suspicion.

Another witness was Dudley P. Gilbert, of New York, who is alleged to have been the author of the story that a "Communist-Jewish" uprising was scheduled for this summer, citing as his informant a mysterious waiter in Manhattan's Harmonie Club. Mr. Gilbert asserted he expected a civil war in this country and the only way to stop it was for patriotic citizens to arise and put it down under a military leader "similar to Franco in Spain."

New York World-Telegram

It can never happen here—but isn't it?

United States Attorney General FRANK MURPHY

Witness the statement of Attorney-General Frank Murphy on May 15th, 1939, in addressing the U. S. Conference of Mayors:

"We are a tolerant people, yet it is estimated that some 800 organizations in the United States are carrying on definite, anti-Jewish propaganda. All told, they claim in the neighborhood of 6,000,000 followers—no doubt a considerable overstatement. But even if we reduce the figure by half or more we face the fact that a large number of our people subscribe to the philosophy that has reduced the Jews of Central Europe to a condition of misery seldom equalled in the world's history."

LINDEN HEIGHTS JEWISH CENTER

Witness the burning of the Linden Heights Jewish Center of Brooklyn, one of the largest of all Community Centers, April, 1939, the scene of two fires, obviously incendiary. One was in the Holy Ark and destroyed sixteen scrolls. The second fire did considerable damage to the pulpit. The fires were the climax of num-

erous acts of vandalism. "Down With the Jews—To Hell with the Jews!"—inscribed upon the walls!

AWAKENING!

Just one more proof, if proof is necessary,—one more awakening. Here is an extract of a letter addressed to me personally by the Editor of the most influential magazine in America today—The Saturday Evening Post. Permit me to read it in part:

Dear Mr. Margolies:

. . . . The insane, neurotic venom which is being spread by mail, by hand, and by whisper grows more fantastic daily. In our mail this morning was a signed circular charging every kidnapping or disappearance since Dorothy Arnold to "The Dutch-German-Rothschild gang", abetted and protected by Franklin D. Roosevelt, and with the House of Morgan in the unaccustomed role of hero. The pattern varies but the theme is unvarying: hatred.

Signed,

Sincerely,

WESLEY WINANS STOUT

I think by now we are agreed that there is only one philosophy which will save world Jewry—a philosophy of courage!

For we American Jews who have served our chosen country in war as well as peace know that we are the last defense of the millions of helpless refugees in Europe—know that here in the United States a secret enemy, capable, well supplied with funds, vicious to the extreme—will engulf us unless we stand up as men attacked and defend ourselves—at once—before it is too late.

Our attitude and defense, then, must be courageous. Intelligent courage. And intelligence implies knowledge of anti-Semitism in the United States in the years past. It is really surprising how many individuals know nothing at all of the past history of the Jew in America.

FREE AND EQUAL

All men are born free and equal—yet there were such states as North Carolina, which up to the year 1868 discriminated against Jews. New Hampshire too did not withdraw its discriminatory laws until 1877. True, their laws were not active, yet the statute books were permitted to remain undisturbed. Incredible, yet a matter of record. This was followed by the anti-alien administration of John Adams, wherein the Alien and Sedition Laws were passed. Immigration was severely restricted. The laws of 1921, 1924, and 1929 all established new low quotas for Jewish immigration. The figure I believe was reduced to 11,000, annually, or thereabouts.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

In June 1922 President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University recommended to the Board of Overseers of the University that they investigate the problem of the excessive number of Jewish students, with their danger to the social and personal standards of the student body. Ultimately, this was defeated, yet not before a storm of protest swept the country. No one has brought the matter of scholastic discrimination into the open since. Through the medium of psychological tests, personal interviews and geographical qualifications, however, restriction is still in force.

'AMERICAN FRONT' ORGANIZATIONS

We are next concerned with the 'American Front' movements in this country. The Klu Klux Klan was revived together with organizations such as the Silver Legion, Khaki Shirts, Crusaders for Economic Liberty, the Liberty Party, etc. The Silver Legion, organized by William Dudley Pelley, with headquarters at Asheville, N. C. estimated a membership of from 30,000 to 200,000, with centers in Oklahoma and California. Their organ was the *Liberation*. The Silver Legion program stated: "The Jews have always played the part of parasites—a nation within a nation—persisting in predatory tactics."

CONGRESSMAN LOUIS T. McFADDEN

Congressman Louis T. McFadden, on May 29th, 1933, speaking before the House, quoted the disavowed articles of the *Dearborn Independent* and attacked the International Jewish Money Power:

"The Democratic Party has given the gold and lawful money of the country to the international money Jews of whom Franklin D. Roosevelt is the familiar . . . Is it not true that in the United States today, the Gentiles have the slips of paper, while Jews have the gold and lawful money? And is not this repudiation bill a bill specifically designed and written by the Jewish International Money changers themselves in order to perpetuate their power."

THE SILVER SHIRTS AND BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

The Silver Shirts claimed that President Roosevelt is a descendant of Dutch Jews, that the real president of the United States was Bernard Baruch. In the February 1934 issue of *Liberation*, Benjamin Franklin is 'quoted' denouncing the Jews—

"If you do not exclude them from these United States in this Constitution, in less than 200 years our descendants will be working in the fields to furnish them substance, while they will be in the country house rubbing their hands. I warn you Gentlemen if you do not exclude the Jews for all time, your children will curse you in their graves. Jews, Gentlemen, are Asiatics, let them be born where they will."

The eminent historian, Charles A. Beard, exposed this 'quotation' as a crass forgery.

ECONOMIC RESTRICTIONS

Heywood Broun and George Britt, in their "Christians Only" tell of the discrimination in the advertising columns of the New York newspapers. In a single day, The N. Y. Times showed 69 ads which inquired about the religion of applicants. The "World" had 34, and so on.

The lack of a favorable reception on the part of Public Utilities throughout the State towards Jewish employees is a factor of great concern.

We all know too of instances of prejudice against Jewish employees within Jewish ranks.

And it is generally known that foreign medical universities have among their student body an abnormal registration of Jewish students—excluded because of 'quotas' from American Medical Schools.

Rabbi Lee J. Levinger, eminent historian, in one of his many authoritative books on Jewish History states: "Discrimination in employment and in professional lines is the outstanding evidence of anti-Jewish prejudice in America today, more serious than religious or social prejudice, even more fundamental and more permanent than the propaganda of Nazi organizers or the outcries of nativist fanatics. The various aspects added together indicate that the second anti-Semitic movement is now in process in the United States and that it promises to remain a part of American life as a whole."

KLU KLUX KLAN

The activities of the Klu Klux Klan, organized in 1915 by William J. Simmons of Atlanta, Ga. at this time came to life. It was a secret organization robes and masks were used in public parades, membership restricted to "white, gentile, Protestant Americans." Their hatred was especially aimed at the negro, the Catholic, the Jew and the foreign born. It was estimated and claimed that the Klu Klux Klan had some 4 million members—exaggerated it would seem.

The Klu Klux Klan was active in politics in Indiana and Colorado. There was also a notorious murder trial in Louisiana where

methods of intimidation and violence were exposed. There were boycotts against Jewish storekeepers.

RUSSIAN EMIGRES

Another outbreak of anti-Jewish feeling was brought to the front by the Russian emigres. After the revolution many of the Russians worked in the State Department. These employees were anti-Soviet, anti-radical, anti-Semitic. "Every Communist a Jew—Every Jew a Communist" was one of their slogans. The Protocols were once more 'discovered', and the entire radical movement ascribed to the Jews. It was the same sorry business all over again.

CONTEMPORARY SCENE

And now, ladies and gentlemen, we come into the contemporary scene. In the period of 1931 the anti-Semitic movement in the United States seemed to take on new force, new energy, new life. This was stimulated by three factors. First, the matter of German propaganda, secondly, the Native 'American Front' revival, and finally, the economical difficulties of the American Jew.

GERMAN PROPAGANDA

Let us consider the German propaganda. Under the Nazi regime units and cells were established in the United States, millions of dollars were poured into this country each year to subsidize German-language newspapers in the United States, uniformed guards drilled in the pattern of storm troopers. With all the reputed German efficiency and thoroughness—anti-Semitism was the goal. German exchange students were employed as observers, publicity agents such as George Sylvester Viereck, Colonel Edwin Emerson, Ivy Lee and Carl Byoir were engaged, German agents—H. Spanknobel and Fritz Gissible were prominent and active. German Jewish Societies were expelled from the United German Societies.

Ridder Brothers, proprietors of the New York Staats-Zeitung refused to give up their liberal policy. There was a split in the Friends of the New Germany in December, 1934. But, on the whole, the progress of anti-Semitism was very rapid.

'HALF-NIGGERS'

This anti-Semitic propaganda was carried on to the tune of: "The Jews are not of the White Race. They are Semites (half-niggers). How many millions of Gentile girls have been spoiled by Jews who protect their own women but see in every Gentile girl their rightful prey."

And more: "The Jews are not superior—they are fresh, indecent, conceited, and know no scruples. Gentiles—beware of the

Jewish domination. International Jewry and their paid agents are the only winners when Gentiles fight each other."

Nazi sources too charged the deaths in the Hauptmann case in 1935 to the Jews. They claimed that Hauptmann as a German had been made the butt of a Jewish prosecutor. Boycotts against the Jews were established. The McCormack and Dickstein Congressional investigation of foreign propaganda in 1934 helped somewhat to reduce the influence of this widespread movement. But such relief was only temporary, as you well know.

The German Bund and the American League To Combat Anti-Semitism

When Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German Bund, announced his plans to utilize Madison Square Garden and the Madison Square Garden Bowl at Astoria for his July 4th rallies, the American League To Combat Anti-Semitism immediately organized letters of protest and gave full publicity to this most vicious of acts of anti-Semitism, with the result that the Garden authorities announced their refusal to permit any further meetings within their jurisdiction. The spectre of some 20,000 Bund members carrying on in a city of such an outstanding Jewish population was the most shameful outrage ever perpetrated upon a peaceful people. We who fought for our country in the last war—and that includes the speaker—never conceived that we would be compelled to tolerate, in silence, such infamy.

DOROTHY THOMPSON

Miss Dorothy Thompson in the Herald Tribune had this to say about the German Bund meeting held at the Garden:

"An alliance has been formed in this country between the followers of Father Coughlin and the followers of Fritz Kuhn to abolish American democracy. On the day before there was a Coughlin meeting in a New York armory at which Bund literature and tickets to the Madison Square Garden meeting were distributed. There were numerous references to Father Coughlin's leadership by the German speakers. The two movements join together in organizing boycotts against all who oppose them. Both movements are led by extremely able and ambitious men. Together they appeal to many thousands. They are plentifully supplied with money and literature. They enjoy the prerogatives of free speech, and with the instruments of democracy they intend to set up in this country a Fascist regime."

IRISH BORN CATHOLIC -

And a letter from one of our supporters, an Irish born Catholic, American citizen, whose name cannot be divulged for obvious reasons.

"A Catholic myself, Irish born, American citizen, I feel that we who are not strangers to persecution and discrimination ourselves should feel nothing but indignation at this vile slander of the great Jewish race. Regrettably, this is not always so. However, most of the Irish Jew-baiters are of less intelligent type, who hang on the words of Father Coughlin and his ilk.

"The stories we hear in this section are probably familiar to you. Examples: The Jews monopolize business and maintain rackets to exploit the Christians. They are uncouth, ill-mannered, and immoral. They are greedy capitalists. They are communists. Jewish shopkeepers cheat Christian customers. They control and degrade the press, radio, and motion pictures for their own ends. The refugees are taking jobs from Americans. The refugees will be a burden on the country. One fantastic tale has it that the Jews worship a Golden Calf in the synagogue, instead of God. And so ad infinitum.

"Of course, these ignorant and malicious people always point out the worst elements as typical of the whole Jewish race and it is usually a case of "the pot calling the kettle black."

"Certainly, this sort of thing must be checked in this country if our young people are not to become infected and all American ideals thrown to the wind. I agree with you that it can do great harm not only to the Jews to whom civilization owes so much, but also to the Christians."

FINALE

The last pages to anti-Semitism have not been written. The contents of those pages, must, to a great degree, be your own responsibility. Thus if we permit others to assume the burden—if we fail to give our energies and support without stint—we will someday be held accountable for such neglect.

An unyielding stand for American principles of equality—not only for Americans of Jewish blood, but for all Americans,—a realization that "Democracy" is not merely a phrase but a precious philosophy—a determination to reflect in our own example the ideals and spiritual values of America—our America—will bring happiness to a people who have never surrendered their faith in God!

. . .

And now members, let me bring to your attention the rather sensational article of Mr. George Britt, who, in collaboration with Heywood Broun, will shortly bring forth a new book on anti-Semitism. We are indebted to The Nation for permission to reproduce this material.

Poison In The Melting-Pot

By GEORGE BRITT

The German-American Bund at Madison Square Garden, New York, on February 20, gave the worst exhibition of Jew-baiting ever seen in the United States. It is doubtful if anything remotely approaching it in boldness and volume was ever staged here before. It has been sufficiently described — the keynote banners "Stop Jewish Domination of Christian America!" and "Wake Up, America! Smash Jewish Communism," the uniformed Nazis gleefully strong-arming dissent, prolonged applause for Father Coughlin, speakers dinning into the ears of the audience fierce abuse of Jews while at the same time flag-waving for Americanism.

Alongside this mass effort at character assassination it is quite justifiable to place two other attacks upon Jews, stabbings with knives instead of words, one occurring a few days before the Bund rally and the other a few days afterward. I would not overemphasize the coincidence. I haven't traced a direct connection of cause and effect. Still, they belong together.

On the evening of February 15 a little old bent, bearded Jew, past sixty, Hyman Mankas, was going home to Brooklyn. Two passengers, Joseph Quinn and Grant Martin, according to police charges, began insulting him in the subway. He left the train, went up an escalator, and got on the elevated. The men pursued. They got off at his station, the accusation runs, pulled his beard, beset him with cries of "lousy Jew" and "Jew refugee from Germany." A Jewish lad of eighteen who came to help him was knocked down and cut three times on the leg with a knife. When brought into court the two husky prisoners pleaded that they had acted in self-defense. An indictment on charges more serious than the original third-degree assault is still being sought.

The second stabbing of a Jew occurred in the early morning of February 23 on the half-deserted platform of the Grand Central subway station. As Irving Berger and a woman companion were waiting for a train, Berger relates, three men walked up and shouted, "Dirty Yidel." Those are fighting words. The young Jew struck back. And then, according to eyewitnesses, one of the trio held Berger against the guard-rail while a second stabbed him. He was cut five times, once in the abdomen quite seriously, receiving wounds which kept him two weeks in a hospital. Two men

were arrested and gave their names as William and Joseph Molloy. Indicted for felonious assault, they pleaded not guilty.

Without more data it would be hysterical to read pogrom psychology into these two unprovoked attacks on Jews by non-Jews, notwithstanding the anti-Semitic battle cries. But it can be said that these stabbings are accurate symbols, at least, of what is bound to result from the anti-Jewish rabble-rousing now going on in New York. The German-American Bund rally was unfortunately no more than a magnified conglomerate of numerous other meetings held every week in New York, in obscure halls and on street corners, from Yorkville to the far edges of the city, all inducing hatred and inciting to violence.

Zealous proselyting by the Bund is to be taken for granted. But of late organizers have been busy also among other racial groups — Hungarians, Swiss, Scandinavians, Syrians, and Arabs — unifying them with the common denominator of anti-Semitism. All Bund meetings sell the official weekly paper *Deutscher Weekruf*, the "Protocols of Zion," and other anti-Semitic writings with incredibly moronic cartoons, seldom omitting Father Coughlin's *Social Justice*, Pelly's *Liberation* and the rest.

Members of the Christian Front, an organization in the main Irish rather than German, deserve special citation as Coughlin's storm troopers. Only the brown uniforms are lacking. This group is strongest in Brooklyn, though it also meets in Manhattan. A delegation wearing "C. F." buttons attended a united veterans' meeting at the Academy of Music in Brooklyn on March 19 and booed loudly when the Jewish representative on the program, the distinguished Dr. Elias Lieberman, rose to speak. They were ejected, but when the audience started home it found "C. F." men waiting at the door, shouting for Coughlin, Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco.

The weekly programs of the Christian Front last summer featured the redoubtable Russell J. Dunn along with the group's own leader, a noisy stripling by the name of John F. Cassidy. Dunn has been screaming anti-Semitism with a few interruptions since 1917, when he served a work-house sentence for disorders provoked by his slogan, "Jews are all slackers." This experience he still refers to

in self-indulgent emotionalism. Dunn works up his audiences with the skill of a Holy Roller revivalist until the men and women sit muttering, not "Amen, Brother," but "Kill the kikes."

During Dunn's recent illness his place has been taken most often by Floyd A. Caridi, president of the Flatbush Anti-Communist League, whose favorite subtlety is, "The first thing I do when I walk into a store is to call for a Christian salesman." Christian Front speakers have lifted certain Bund phrases which they repeat tirelessly: "President Rosenfield," "the pink lady in the White House," and "the little red flower in City Hall." They warn the Mayor that they are going to ride up with guns. Members know their cues and are quick to boo at "Perkins" or "refugees," and to cheer "Coughlin" or "Hitler."

Long-suffering under abuse as they have been, the Jewish War Veterans at last turned out a thousand or more strong at a Christian Front open-air meeting held last fall at East Seventeenth Street and Kings Highway, Brooklyn. The meeting was smothered, the speakers retreated, Caridi was struck, and the program never started.

At a recent meeting of the Christian Front in Prospect Hall, Brooklyn, the Franco film, "Spain in Arms," was shown, with speakers adding comment. The recorded voice on the film itself did not mention Jews although it repeatedly insinuated the idea. When a group of prisoners from the International Brigade with somewhat Semitic features was shown, it advised, "Watch their faces closely." "Oy, Oy," responded the audience. "Look at the kikes, the Christ-killers, the mockies." One speaker solemnly warned, "I have been informed that the Jews are about to plunge America into a war with Hitler and Mussolini, and that Madame Perkins and President Roosevelt are in on the deal." Socialists, Communists, and Jews received a common denunciation. But it remained for the chairman, one Harold Walsh, to accomplish a dialectical masterpiece with the blast: "The Jewish War Veterans can denounce communism all day and all night, and they can call themselves Americans, but we members of the Christian Front are not to be fooled—we will deal with these people when the time comes, and we will pay special attention to Jews who sing the Star-Spangled Banner." Even Father Coughlin pretends to attack only Communist Jews. But the Brooklyn disciple makes all Jews Communists.

Dunn was the principal speaker at a meeting held in February at the McKinley Square

Gardens in the Bronx, in the name of the Veterans' Organization of Christian Crusaders for Special Justice. The chairman was John O'Shea, head of the Queens Committee of the Flying Squad for Americanism. Praising Father Coughlin, Dunn condemned the Catholic church for not giving him more ardent support and for harboring his critics. He lingered fondly over Spanish atrocities. All the trouble in Spain, he said, was due to Jewish meddling. He reviled and assailed the Jews, winding up with "We must drive the lousy"—pausing here and waiting for the audience to scream "Jews, Jews, Jews." Then he resumed, "Shut up. I'll do the talking here. It's people like you who get me in jail. I mean Communists." And the audience roared with delight.

A meeting of the Christian Crusaders against Communists, held in Yorkville on February 13 with about 500 in attendance, started with an appeal to the American Nationalist Party, Italian Fascists, the German-American Bund, and the Christian Front to join hands with the Crusaders. Then the Franklin forgeries were brought up; then Coughlin, "greatest man since Jesus Christ," destined to be the Franco of America—cheers for Father Coughlin; then Coughlin's identification of the Bolsheviks as Jews; praise for William Dudley Pelley; eulogy of Hitler. A speaker told how Jews had taken over New York while the Irish and Germans were away fighting the war. "What are you going to do about it?" Back came the shouts, "Kill the bastards!" The speaker smiled indulgently. That would be too much trouble. There mightn't be room to bury them all. Maybe the East River was the solution. With the Jews in control of everything, he said, he very much feared that violence was coming. How his blood had tingled, he recalled, when he saw the cops beating up Communists in front of the City Hall nine years ago, and he had stepped in and helped. He described a newspaper photograph of a policeman beating a Spanish Loyalist sympathizer in California. His hope was for a return of the good old police field days—"you know what I mean."

New York's plainest current display of anti-Semitism is the weekly picketing of radio station WMCA at Fifty-second Street and Broadway every Sunday afternoon in protest against the station's demand for advance editing of Father Coughlin's speeches. Coughlin's refusal to speak over WMCA on those terms has been a boon to anti-Semites. It was the most useful peg of the winter on which to hang demonstrations demanding toleration for his intolerance.

The first picketing was on Sunday, December 18, after a big rally on the previous Thursday by the Committee for the Defense of American Constitutional Rights. Attendance at the rally was predominantly Catholic—Christian Front members and the credulous worshipers of Coughlin. One organizer was a promoter by the name of Allen Zoll, then head of American Patriots, Inc., an associate of Bund Fuhrer Fritz Kuhn. A few weeks later Zoll was to raise the anti-Semitic out-cry against Felix Frankfurter's appointment to the Supreme Court. Since then he has been more quiet, and Christian Front speakers call him a renegade. Another was Edward James Smythe, a fellow-worker with the

Bund, a user of multifarious letterheads, publisher of fly-by-night propaganda sheets, and for years a petty dealer in anti-Semitism. Smythe's most recent creation is the Protestant War Veterans of the United States, whose banner was in line at the first picketing. The Christian Front turns out faithfully every Sunday, and there are numerous pickets whose rich German accents suggest a Bund connection. The anti-Semitism of the picket line exceeds Father Coughlin's simultaneous incitements over the air. The pickets shout, "Wake up, America—Buy Christian Only," "Down with the Jewish Warmongers," and "No Kosher Frankfurters." An occasional "Heil Hitler" is heard.

Father Coughlin: Priest and Politician

The story of the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin is the story of America in depression. It doesn't begin in the United States, however; it begins in Canada, where Charles Edward Coughlin was born, and where he went to school. He went to St. Mary's parochial school in Hamilton, Ontario, and later to St. Michael's College. (A devout Catholic, his American-born father was sexton of the cathedral in Hamilton.) At the age of twenty, he was graduated from the University of Toronto. And it was there, in Toronto, Canada, that he was ordained, and nearby, at the Assumption College in Sandwich, that he took up teaching.

The Reverend Charles E. Coughlin has been teaching ever since. There are those who believe that he teaches hatred: class hatred, race hatred, religious hatred. And they say that his textbook is *Mein Kampf*. Father Coughlin says that he teaches Christianity. He calls his Sunday afternoon radio-sermons "my educational talks on economics and politics"; but he says that he bases them foursquare upon the encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI.

Some Catholics think so. Others don't. His Eminence George Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago has said that Father Coughlin "is not authorized to speak for the Catholic Church, nor does he represent the doctrine or sentiments of the church." A leading Catholic layman, Alfred E. Smith, former Governor of the State of New York, has accused Father Coughlin of "bearing false witness." The *Osservatore Romano*, which is said to reflect the views of the Vatican, has twice rebuked him. On the other hand, there are tens of thousands who hang on his every word. They parade in wind and snow, crying his name; they stand on street corners, shouting headlines from *Social Justice*, his weekly news-magazine.

The American Institute of Public Opinion has reported that 3,500,000 men and women listen to Father Coughlin on the radio every Sunday, that 15,000,000 listen to him occasionally. Sixty-seven per cent of the regular listeners, and 51 per cent of the occasional listeners approve of him; they say: "He knows what he's talking about."

This is 1939. The United States has been through almost ten years of depression. At least 10,000,000 men can't find jobs. Nearly half of them are on relief, many, perhaps, because their savings were lost in the bank crash of '32 and '33. In Europe, men are marching, and there is talk of war. People haven't forgotten the last World War; and they don't want another.

In 1921, business was bad, too. America was in the midst of the post-war depression. That depression was short-lived, however, and few people worried much about it. The young Canadian priest at the Assumption College studied political science, economics, and sociology; but he talked religion. One Sunday he was asked to preach in St. Agnes's Church in Detroit. His sermon was pretty much like any other, but he—the man—stood out. He was more brilliant, more flowery, more poetic than most young priests. He was asked to come back; and come back he did, week after week for nearly two years. Finally, his superiors decided to keep him in the United States, first at Kalamazoo, Michigan, later at Royal Oak.

It was now 1926. The post-war boom was on. Politicians were talking about the New Era. (The New Freedom was dead, the New Deal still unborn.) Father Coughlin asked the manager of radio station WJR, which then was owned by the Detroit *Free Press*, to broadcast his sermons. It seemed like good business to WJR, for Detroit is 34 per cent Catholic. And when Father Coughlin asked WJR to let him deliver afternoon talks for children, that seemed like good business, too.

So Father Coughlin was on the air, talking about religion, but mixing his religion with politics, economics, and sociology. Three years passed: 1927, '28, and '29. Prices, wages, and profits were going up. Politicians and economists were saying that America had conquered the problem of the economic cycle; that never would there be another crash, never another depression. Father Coughlin's ideas about the economic system went unnoticed. Nobody cared.

The Crash of '29

October, 1929: the crash. And now people *did* care. They began to notice Father Coughlin. They began to write letters to station WJR, commenting on what Father Coughlin had said—not about religion, but about business and finance.

At first he didn't quite catch on, but the letters poured in—hundreds of letters, thousands of letters—all of them about the depression. People were losing their jobs, their homes, their farms, their savings. They wanted to know why. In 1930, therefore, Father Coughlin decided to expand, organized the Radio League of the Little Flower, and bought time on stations in Chicago and Cincinnati. Moreover, he revamped his radio technique. No longer would he serve his listeners religion, flavored with economics. Now he was going to give them economics, flavored with religion. More letters poured in. People couldn't get enough of Father Coughlin's economic theories, clamored for more. And they sent money. The dollar bills piled up.

The dollar bills piled up, and Father Coughlin bought more time—on sixteen Columbia stations. Meanwhile, the depression was getting worse. Deflation swept onward. Now, deflation always means hard times for the Midwestern farmer: it means low prices. Throughout American history, the farmer has demanded inflation—"easy money." Father Coughlin was for easy money. He wanted to "restore silver to its proper value." Just what its proper value was, he never did quite say. Nevertheless, the farmers of the Midwest knew what he was talking about. He was talking about inflation. So the letters continued to pour in, and with them came money.

Father Coughlin said that if "Hoover prosperity" were to return it would bring with it another World War. One million two hundred thousand letters are reported to have flooded into his office, commenting on that speech.

Father Coughlin denounced J. P. Morgan, Andrew Mellon, Ogden Mills, and Eugene Meyer as "the Four

Horsemen of the Apocalypse." Six hundred thousand letters are said to have come in.

Father Coughlin was training his guns now on Wall Street, on the speculator, on the "international banker." Deflation and Wall Street are inseparably linked in the mind of the Midwestern farmer and small business man. Since the days of Alexander Hamilton, American bankers have fought with American farmers over the question of "sound finance." A generation ago, the Democratic Party was torn apart by that issue, by the phrase "Cross of Gold." It was the banker who caused deflation, many people thought; it was the banker who stepped in and foreclosed on the farmer when deflation made it difficult for him to pay taxes and interest—the hated "international banker."

The Bank Failures

On top of that, America's whole banking structure was crumbling. All over the country, banks were closing their doors, never to reopen them. "Small people" were losing their savings. Hatred of bankers grew.

So Father Coughlin's attacks on the bankers were popular, that is, with almost everybody but the bankers themselves and the big industrialists. The *Detroit Free Press*, which had put Father Coughlin on the air, turned against him. E. D. Stair, publisher of the *Free Press* and leading Detroit banker, called him "an ecclesiastical Huey Long." Mr. Stair's bank, the First National, had just closed down.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the White House, swept into office by the same popular upsurge that had swept Father Coughlin to fame. The Reverend Charles E. Coughlin was denouncing the "international banker." President Franklin D. Roosevelt was driving "the money changers from the temple." Father Coughlin was for President Roosevelt "100 per cent." He shouted: "Roosevelt or Ruin!" He commuted between Detroit and Washington, conferring with Raymond Moley and other members of the "brain trust." Sunday after Sunday he declaimed: "Roosevelt or Ruin!"

He was at the height of his popularity. He didn't have time for his parish: three young priests took care of the parish work and preached the sermons. He employed his own brain trust, experts who combed books, and pamphlets, and government documents for material to help in the writing of his radio-sermons. One hundred clerks and stenographers were needed to handle Father Coughlin's mail alone, the mail of the man who once had said:

I am neither Republican, Democrat, nor Socialist. I glory in the fact that I am a simple Catholic priest endeavoring to inject Christianity into the fabric of an economic system woven upon the loom of greed by the cunning fingers of those who manipulate the shuttles of human lives for their own selfish purposes.

There were some facts about the "simple Catholic priest" that were rather difficult to explain, however. The *Free Press* revealed that Father Coughlin, while denouncing Wall Street, had at the same time been playing the stock market. The *Free Press* called it "speculation." Father Coughlin said that he simply had made "an investment." The Government published the names of those who held silver, and it was revealed that Father Coughlin, through his secretary, held more than anyone else in Michigan: 500,000 ounces. Father Coughlin had said: "The restoration of silver to its proper value is of Christian concern. I send you a call for the mobilization of all Christianity against the god of gold." To many it seemed as though Father Coughlin had been less concerned with Christianity than with private gain.

Disillusionment swept away many of his followers. He began to criticize organized labor at the very time when organized labor was making its great comeback, with the help of N.R.A. In the Detroit automobile factories, where Father Coughlin had once been looked upon as the new Messiah, sent to lead us from this wilderness of depression and unemployment, the striking A. F. of L. workers now called him "Fascist." He was on the downgrade.

Break With Roosevelt

Yet, he could still rally millions. Never has Washington seen as many telegrams as flooded the capital when he made his attack on the World Court. Postal Telegraph and Western Union simply couldn't handle them. Messenger boys delivered them literally by the basketful.

No sooner did he break with the New Deal, however, than his following began to evaporate. It took Father Coughlin nearly two years to make the break. In the autumn of 1934, he already was grumbling to friends, though on the air he still declaimed "Roosevelt or Ruin!" That winter, the *Detroit News* reported that he was flirting with five anti-New Deal organizations—the Committee

of the Nation, the National Grange, the American Farm Federation, the National Farm Union, and the Sound Money League. This he denied, but his speeches were getting more and more critical of the Administration. In 1935, attacking General Hugh S. Johnson, he reiterated his phrase "Roosevelt or Ruin!" Nevertheless, as Raymond Gram Swing wrote shortly afterwards, his support was "certainly not convincing."

The final break came in 1936, during the Presidential campaign. Father Coughlin announced his support of Representative William Lemke. He declared: "Roosevelt and Ruin!" And he blasted the President with insults. He called him "that great betrayer and liar, Franklin Double-Cross Roosevelt." He was forced to apologize. In September, he called the President "the anti-God." The Archbishop of Cincinnati was outraged and publicly rebuked him. In October, he called the President "scab." Again he was forced to apologize. Monsignor John A. Ryan, who accused Father Coughlin of misquoting the Pope's encyclicals, was charged with being in the employ of the New Deal. Father Coughlin announced: "If I cannot swing at least 9,000,000 votes to Mr. Lemke I will quit broadcasting educational talks on economics and politics."

Mr. Lemke didn't get 9,000,000 votes. He didn't get one-tenth that number. His total vote was exactly 891,858. On November 7, 1936, after the election returns were in, Father Coughlin said:

I am withdrawing from all radio activity in the best interests of all the people. I am doing this without attempting to offer one alibi, thereby proving that my promise is better than my bond.

Neither Father Coughlin nor anyone else could buck the New Deal in 1936. Father Coughlin tried, and it drove him into obscurity, temporary obscurity, yes, but ranking nonetheless.

Roosevelt's Popularity Recedes

The New Deal tide reached its high on November 4, 1936; it has been receding steadily ever since. That is apparent. To some, the New Deal is possibly too radical; to others, it seems not radical enough. And there are still others who don't think in terms of radical or conservative, who simply feel that for some reason the New Deal hasn't been working, that it just isn't the answer to America's troubles. Now many of these people have gone back to Republicanism: the 1933 election returns seem to show that. On the other hand, there are many who remember only too well the days of Hooverism: they feel that if the New Deal isn't the answer, neither is the G. O. P.

As the New Deal tide receded, leaving more and more of these disillusioned New Dealers high and dry, Father Coughlin saw his opportunity. So back on the air he went, despite his promise. His new theme: fascism.

Now it must be admitted that Father Coughlin has always leaned toward fascism. Even in the days when he was intensely pro-New Deal, his speeches had fascist overtones. As far back as 1935, Mr. Swing could write:

... More nearly than any demagogue in America he (Father Coughlin) has the formula for a fascist party, a semi-radical program which is "safe" on the labor question, which guarantees the profit system, and which appeals simultaneously to agriculture, the middle class, and the big employer. Already he is first in the field with his kind of party, and he must know that no other fascist movement can grow in this country without him.

Nevertheless, his program then was still vague. It sounded more like the Farmer-Labor platform than it did like fascism. Occasionally, Father Coughlin would attack the Jews; more often, he would attack the Communists; but rarely did he then link the Jews with Communism, as the Nazis do, nor were his attacks on the Jews particularly direct. Although he may not have been quite militant in his defense of democracy, neither was he especially critical. On the whole he stuck to issues which then were agitating the farmers and the lower middle class: specific issues, traditional American issues.

The Father Coughlin who came back on the air in 1937 made no bones about his love of Nazism and Fascism, however; nor about his contempt for democracy. On November 6, 1938, for example, he declaimed contemptuously on the manner in which democracies glorify "the magic of numbers." Discussing the French Revolution, he said that "a new king was set upon the throne of the Notre Dame in Paris—the king symbolizing the magic of numbers, the king which said, mankind is king and the majority opinion shall prevail." This "magic of numbers"—democracy—he blamed for having "religiously kept religion out of government and fanatically denied the entrance of Christ's principles into economy, business, industry, and agriculture."

Attack on Democracy

In like vein did *Social Justice* comment on August 1, 1938:

Democracy! More honored in the breach than in the observance.

Democracy! A mockery that mouths the word and obstructs every effort on the part of an honest people to establish a government for the welfare of the people.

Democracy! A cloak under which hide the culprits who have built up an inorganic tumor of government which is sapping away the wealth of its citizens through confiscatory taxation.

And on several occasions before and since, Father Coughlin has come out flatly against our representative form of government, urging that we scrap the Congress of the United States in favor of the form of government that now exists in fascist Italy, the "Corporate State." Indeed, his address of March 13, 1938 was devoted entirely to lauding the "Corporate State."

Increasingly, Father Coughlin has adopted the Nazi technique of shouting "Jew!" and "Communist!" As the January, 1939 issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, "The Attack on Democracy," pointed out, the Nazi technique is simple. "First, make the words 'Jew' and 'Communist' so odious that people will shrink from anything or anybody on which they may be pinned. Then, you have only to call those people you don't like 'Communist' or 'Jewish' in order to destroy them."

Thus, Father Coughlin reprinted in *Social Justice* last winter the long-discredited *Protocols of Zion* to prove that "world Jewry" is plotting to enslave the people of every other religious faith; and that "Jewry" created democracy, capitalism, the gold standard, and freedom of press for this reason. The *Protocols*, of course, are forgeries; there can be absolutely no doubt of that. Only recently, Father Pierre Charles picked the *Protocols* to pieces in the *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, published by the Jesuit faculty of theology of Louvain. And the Catholic magazine *America*, commenting on his article said: "America took a positive stand on the *Protocols* many years ago, finding them to be an outrageous forgery." So Father Coughlin, in reprinting the *Protocols*, did not at first dare to defend their authenticity. Instead, he merely said that he thought *Social Justice* readers might find them of interest. Later, he said that while the *Protocols* might not be authentic, they nevertheless were "factual."

On November 20, 1938, Father Coughlin went on the air to charge that it was the Jews who created the Soviet Union, and that Jews were behind the Communist movement everywhere. This was another Nazi trick, as leading Catholics, Jews, and Protestants were quick to point out. Father William C. Kernan (Episcopalian), writing in *The Nation* of December 17, 1938, charged that Father Coughlin had based his speech in part upon information supplied by the Nazi *World Service*, which is published in Erfurt, Germany. The Catholic weekly *Commonweal* attacked Father Coughlin's "all too pious acceptance of propaganda from a party whose Fuehrer boasts his machine is based on huge lies." Alfred E. Smith joined the attack. So did Frank J. Hogan, president of the American Bar Association.

Use of Card-Stacking

Father Coughlin's entire address was an example of card-stacking, packed with distortions, exaggerations, misquotations, and outright misstatements of fact. For example: Father Coughlin said that only three of the fifty-nine members of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party were non-Jews. Actually, the Central Committee has nearly twice fifty-nine members, and virtually all of them are non-Jews. Father Coughlin quoted statements from the "official White Paper issued by the English War Cabinet in 1919." Nobody else who has examined the document can find the statements there. "A report" of the U. S. Secret Service also was quoted. According to Frank J. Wilson, chief of the Secret Service, the report simply doesn't exist. The *American Hebrew* was misquoted: Father Coughlin changed the quotation's meaning by adding three words of his own.

If Father Coughlin's speech was badly received in the United States, he might, perhaps, have found solace in what the Germans and Italians said about it. Otto D. Tolischus, staff correspondent of the *New York Times*, reported on November 27, 1938: "The German hero in America for the moment is the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin . . ." On January 16, 1939 the Associated Press reported from Rome:

The Rev. Charles E. Coughlin of Royal Oak, Michigan, received fascist praise and thanks today from the *Regime Fascista*, the newspaper that has led the attacks on the Vatican in the dispute over the Italian anti-Semitic measures.

Gradually, since coming back on the air, Father Coughlin has been refining not only his propaganda technique but his program, as well. As outlined in his radio-sermon of February 26, 1939, it closely parallels the program of the Nazi party before it rose to power in Germany. Of the latter, the May, 1938 issue of PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, "The Propaganda Techniques of German Fascism," has said:

Then came Adolf Hitler, a leader, who promised the German people all that they wanted. Most Germans felt that conditions were too bad even to question how all that he offered could be achieved. The few who did raise their voices in protest or doubt were silenced by argument, by force, or by honest conviction that this new scheme, this new hope, must be tried. Everything was promised to everyone: socialism to the laborer and to the more liberal *Kleinbürger*; partition of the great estates to the peasant; dissolution of the trusts and economic security to the middle class citizen; salvation from Communism to the upper bourgeois; and to everyone elimination of the Jews, rearmament of the Reich, and "national liberation."

"Everything was promised to every one." That was Adolf Hitler's program. And that, as will be seen, is also Father Coughlin's.

Father Coughlin, himself, writing in the February 13th issue of *Social Justice*, has said:

I am beginning to understand why I have been dubbed a "Nazi" or a "Fascist" by the Jewish publications in America; for practically all the . . . principles of social justice are being put into practice in Italy and Germany.

Why Propaganda Works

Now, it seems obvious that any program which promises everything to everybody must, of necessity, be self-contradictory. And one might well ask how any great number of people could be expected to swallow it. The answer is simple: "Most Germans felt that conditions were too bad even to question how all that he (Adolf Hitler) offered could be achieved." Not questioning, not analyzing, they followed blindly — to Nazi dictatorship.

Of course, the conditions which existed in Germany before Adolf Hitler were far different from those which exist in the United States today. America was not defeated in war; America was not burdened with reparations; America has no lack of natural resources. Nevertheless, America does have poverty; America does have unemployment; for many small business men and farmers, times have rarely been worse. Some of them no doubt have begun to lose faith in the ability of capitalism and democracy to eliminate poverty and unemployment. The G. O. P. failed them, so they feel, in 1929; now, they say, the New Deal is failing them. Along comes Father Coughlin with his new scheme, his new hope. And, like millions of Germans in 1933, they believe that it "must be tried."

Some light is thrown on the kind of people who approve of Father Coughlin by the poll of American Institute of Public Opinion. It showed that his followers are for the most part "in the lower income groups," and that far more of them voted for President Roosevelt in 1936 than for Alf M. Landon.

So Father Coughlin, knowing that his followers are disillusioned with present-day capitalism, attacks it with radical-sounding phrases. At the same time he realizes that, in part at least, their disillusionment springs from the fact that during these years of depression they have lost their property—their homes, their farms, their jobs. And he also knows that what they really want is somehow to get their property back. Consequently, he defends the private ownership of property, which is the basis of capitalism. He advocates the right of labor to organize, which pleases the workers in his audience. To catch the small business man, who probably doesn't like unions, he attacks the closed shop, picketing, and strikes. Capitalism means production for profit. That is selfish, "unChristian." However, production for use is Socialism, and Socialism is akin to Communism, which Father Coughlin hates. Consequently, he advocates "production for use as a profit." In this way he attempts to satisfy everybody.

Father Coughlin sees in his program America's only alternative to both Nazism and Communism. Nevertheless, the program is strikingly like the Nazi program, as described by Dr. Frederick L. Schuman in *The Nazi Dictatorship*.

The Nazis, in their 25-point program, said: "Personal enrichment due to a war must be regarded as a crime against the nation." Father Coughlin, in his speech of February 26, echoed:

What profit does the soldier in the front trench acquire out of the grime, the vermin, and the wound which he receives? What profit should those who remain at

home acquire? They contribute no more than does the soldier who risks his life, and let them gain no more.

Attitudes Toward Labor

The Nazis, according to Dr. Schuman, "while promoting the complete organization of labor for disciplinary purposes, insisted that unions should not be weapons of class struggle, but merely agencies to represent occupational interests. In the Fascist State, strikes are unnecessary and intolerable . . ." Father Coughlin echoes:

This program must incorporate the right of labor to organize. . . . I do not mean that labor should organize only for its own selfish interests. Labor should organize for its own protection and for the common good of the nation, on the basis that capital cannot do without labor, and labor cannot do without capital. . . . Neither capital nor labor should organize against each other because social justice must be meted out to all without exception.

Father Coughlin's statement may be rather vague, and sugar-coated with Glittering Generalities like "social justice"; still there can be little doubt that what he advocates is the establishment in the United States of something like the Nazi Labor Front, in which the German worker is regimented, prevented from striking or from making any independent protest.

According to Dr. Schuman, the Nazis soon after getting into power began to regulate "the prices of all rural products. . . . The determination of the major agricultural prices through free competition was terminated." Here is what Father Coughlin has to say about farm prices:

Any financial or economic system which does not guarantee the cost of production plus a fair profit is an unsound economic system.

The Nazi Party's 25-point program demanded "the ruthless prosecution of those whose activities are injurious to the common interest." Father Coughlin says:

The control of private property for the public good should be an integral part of this program. . . . The public good . . . demands that they who own factories may not operate them to the detriment of the public good, nor may owners operate them on the principle of production for profit only.

The Nazis demanded that all monopolies be socialized. Later, this demand was "conveniently forgotten," Dr. Schuman has reported. Father Coughlin says:

Certain public resources should be nationalized, in the sense that either Federal or State Governments may develop transportation, power, and light, through the agency of politically free corporations, but not in the sense that Federal or State Governments should monopolize public utilities to the exclusion of private corporations.

The Nazis said that private ownership should be "placed under State protection," according to Dr. Schuman. Father Coughlin says:

Private ownership of property should not only be guaranteed but should be cultivated by the Government.

The Nazi Party's 25-point program said: "The activities of the individual may not clash with the interests of the whole, but must proceed within the frame of the community and be for the general good." Says Father Coughlin:

In all, however, social justice demands class cooperation and is opposed to class conflict. It is predicated upon the general principle that there can be no prosperity for one class in America unless there is prosperity for all classes.

What Does It Mean?

The outstanding characteristic of Father Coughlin's program is that, like the Nazi program, *it can mean anything*. One could easily point out the Glittering Generalities in Father Coughlin's speech. However, the program itself seems little more than one big generality. It sounds radical. Father Coughlin has called it radical. Yet, the radicalism evaporates under analysis. Indeed, many of the points themselves, and especially the points that Father Coughlin is most insistent upon, evaporate, too.

For example, what does Father Coughlin mean when he says that "certain public resources should be nationalized, in the sense that either Federal or State Governments may develop transportation, power, and light . . . but not in the sense that Federal or State Governments should monopolize public utilities to the exclusion of private corporations"? Is this not exactly the situation that exists today? What is T. V. A. if not an example of Government ownership without the "exclusion of private corporations"?

Again, when Father Coughlin says that private industry "must be controlled for the common good," isn't

he just stating platitudes? Haven't the people of the United States long recognized the necessity for controlling industry "for the common good"? How else can we explain the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the Clayton Act, the Federal Reserve Act, the Securities and Exchange Act, the Wages and Hours Law, and hundreds of similar laws? The generality that Father Coughlin utters is supported by everybody. Where people differ is over the question: *how* shall industry be regulated? Father Coughlin gives no specific answer.

Father Coughlin's demand for cooperation as opposed to conflict is another Glittering Generality, for it poses the question: *how* shall conflict be eliminated; *how* shall cooperation be achieved? The Nazis and fascists have their answer: force, the ruthless suppression of all differences. Is this what Father Coughlin wants? He does not say. However, significant in his program is the lack of any mention of civil rights.

It should be remembered, moreover, that it allegedly was to eliminate conflict and to achieve cooperation that both Germany and Italy eliminated the party system, destroying every political group but the one in power. More than one party made for conflict, said the Nazis and fascists; it made for bickering, class hatred, and indecision. Similarly, cooperation was the excuse given for destroying the independent labor unions in Germany and Italy. And in Germany it has been the excuse for the drive to put the Catholic and Protestant churches under the domination of the State.

In all, Father Coughlin's program has fourteen points. Of those which have not already been mentioned, several are devoted to money reform. On this question, too, Father Coughlin is rather vague, however. From what he says, he may either be advocating inflation or else the "commodity dollar." He says that his platform "incorporates . . . the principle that Congress shall coin and regulate the value of money . . ." As Father Coughlin must be aware, the Constitution of the United States has always read: "The Congress shall have the power . . . To coin money, regulate the value thereof . . ."

What Newspapermen Say

Mr. Swing has said:

That Father Coughlin should not be explicit about his intentions is in keeping with his mentality. He is not the explicit kind of person. The reporters in Detroit, for whom his Sunday discourses are a recurring chore, complain that while he sounds convincing over the air he does not often use the factual material that makes it possible to write a readable story. He will start many a quotable affirmation, and then add a few words which make one wonder what it is all about. . . .

As a rule he sticks to rhetoric and remains incomprehensible. . . .

After reading and hearing many of his speeches I am struck by their technical similarity to those of Hitler. These, too, are vague and emotional. Carefully analyzed they do not read as radical as they sound. Like Hitler's, the priest's speeches tap the underlying prejudices of listeners. Hitler for years played skillfully on the resentment against the Versailles treaty and against social conditions. Coughlin plays on the widespread animosity toward the bankers and the yearning for social justice.

Does Father Coughlin aspire to become "the American Hitler"? Nobody but Father Coughlin himself can say. Certainly the man is ambitious. He admits that. He likewise is ruthless. "If I threw away and renounced my faith, I would surround myself with the most adroit highjackers, learn every trick of the highest banking and stock manipulations, avail myself of the laws under which to hide my own crimes, create a smokescreen to throw into the eyes of men, and—believe me—I would become the world's champion crook," he once wrote. The Constitution of the United States bars him from ever becoming President: he was not born in the United States, and there is doubt about his citizenship. Lack of citizenship didn't prevent Adolf Hitler from becoming ruler of Germany, however. Adolf Hitler simply tore up the German constitution, and wrote another more to his liking.

His Catholicism might stand in the way of his ambition, for, in the past, anti-Semitic movements have usually given birth to anti-Catholicism in the United States. "The Klu Klux Klan of recent days started out to be an anti-Jewish organization . . . but in its full flowering, when it had millions of members, it was not so much anti-Jewish or anti-Negro as it was anti-Catholic," the Louisville *Courier-Journal* has said.

In the final analysis, however, the only barrier will be the American people, their love of liberty, and their ability to solve their own problems by democratic methods. The Germans didn't question, they didn't analyze, they followed blindly. Whether that will happen in the United States is for the people of the United States to answer.

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ANTI-SEMITISM, Inc.

.....
(date)

1776 Broadway,
New York City

Dear Sirs:

I am in complete sympathy with your objectives; your fight is mine. I enclose my contribution in amount of \$..... that democracy may be preserved for all our people. I wish also that you would forward a copy of THE ANSWER TO ANTI-SEMITISM to the list of people enclosed herewith. (Estimate 12c per copy including postage.)

Name
PLEASE PRINT

Address

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